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## CLOTH IN THE CULT\*

There are various types of cloth recorded in the Linear B tablets: TELA+TE, TELA+PU, TELA+KU, TELA+PA, TELA+ZO, TELA+PO, \*146, \*164, \*166, cloth called *to-mi-ka*, TELA+TE *pe-ko-to* or *tu-na-no*. But only some kinds of cloth occur on the tablets concerning cult: mainly \*146<sup>1</sup> and \*166+WE<sup>2</sup> and exceptionally \*164, TELA+TE and TELA+PA. The cloth ideogram \*164 and its function in connection with the religious term *te-o-po-ri-ja* has already been discussed extensively by Hiller.<sup>3</sup>

We shall focus on two types of *wehanos* (\*φεσ-ανος<\*ves-) cloth: The ideogram \*146 which also has the form of a piece of cloth and the ligature WE which we interpret as *we-a<sub>2</sub>-no* / *wehanos*.<sup>4</sup> Another type of cloth, \*166+WE, also *wehanos* in our opinion, occurs on the lists of offerings. At Knossos, *wehanos* \*146 is often associated with *wehanos* \*166+WE, and the same connection exists at Pylos,<sup>5</sup> where the ideogram \*160, which according to Duhoux<sup>6</sup> is a variant form of \*146, is associated with \*166.

Two other types of Mycenaean woollen cloth occur once on tablets recording activities in the cult: the heavy *te-pa*, often noted TELA+TE, and TELA+PA, which denotes *pa-we-a* / *pharwea* cloth. The cloth types \*146, \*166+WE and *te-pa* and *pa-we-a* are not only of different materials, they are also procured through different systems monitored by the palace officials: *te-pa* and *pa-we-a* are parts of the *ta-ra-si-ja* corvée. The *wehanos* denoted by the ideogram \*146 is mainly known as one of the commodities to be delivered as tax contribution to the palaces at Pylos and Knossos. More than 500 pieces of cloth are to be delivered annually in the kingdom of Nestor.

\* This paper is based on work in our dissertations presented in 2000: M.-L. B. NOSCH, *The Organization of the Mycenaean Textile Industry* (Universität Salzburg) and M. PERNA, *Fiscalité à Pylos et à Cnossos* (Université Nanterre-Paris X). We thank our colleagues for providing us with their works: C. BOËLLE, *Les divinités féminines dans le panthéon mycénien d'après les archives en linéaire B* (unpublished thesis, Université de Nancy II, 1998). F. ROUGEMONT, "The Textile Production and the Mycenaean Sanctuaries," in *Trade and Production in Premonetary Greece. Production and Religion. Proceedings of the 9th International Workshop, Athens, December 1999* (forthcoming). C.W. SHELEMERDINE, "The Southwestern Department at Pylos," in *A-NA-QO-TA. Studies presented to J.T. Killen, Minos 33-34* (1998-1999) (forthcoming).

1 On the ideogram \*146, see M. LEJEUNE, "Observations sur l'idéogramme 146," in *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne II [1958-1963]* (1971) 315-337; Y. DUHOUX, "Idéogrammes textiles du Linéaire B \*146, \*160, \*165 et \*166," *Minos 15* (1974) 116-132; J. KILLEN, "The Textile Industries at Pylos and Knossos," in *Pylos comes alive. Industry + Administration in a Mycenaean Palace. A Symposium of the New York Society of the Archaeological Institute of America and Fordham University, in memory of Claireve Grandjouan, May 4-5, 1984* (1984) 61-64.

2 On the ideogram \*166, see A. SACCONI, "A proposito degli ideogrammi di Cnosso e di Pilo \*165, \*166 e \*167," in *AntCret. Studi in onore di Doro Levi I* (1973) 202-204; DUHOUX (*supra* n. 1) 122-123. Duhoux suggests that the ideogram \*166 represents the same product as \*165.

3 S. HILLER, "TE-O-PO-RI-JA," in *Aux origines de l'Hellénisme. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre* (1984) 139-150.

4 A.L.H. ROBKIN, "The Endogram WE on Mycenaean Textiles \*146 and \*166+WE: A Proposed Identification," *AJA 85* (1981) 213, has proposed another interpretation of WE in connection with \*146 and \*166. She assumes that WE abbreviates *we-a-re-pe*, 'oil treated'. According to her, \*146 (with the endogram WE) is an oil treated piece of the cloth \*160, and \*166+WE is an oil treated piece of the cloth \*166 (without the endogram WE). The hypothesis is ingenious but the scribes do not seem to note WE consistently so we do not think that any general hypothesis can be based on the presence or not of this abbreviation.

5 PY La 640 (S628-Ciii/probably from room 6)  
] \*166+WE 62 \*160 13

(The new reading is due to J. Melena, personal communication, May 2000).

6 DUHOUX (*supra* n. 1) 116-118.

Chadwick, Melena and Robkin assume that the cloth type \*146 is made of linen cloth,<sup>7</sup> but we believe that this was not always the case.

The material with which the cloth \*146 and \*166 is made is sometimes indicated: on a tablet from Knossos the cloth is described with the ideogram \*166+WE and the abbreviation *ri*, which either stands for *ri-ta* / λίτα, flax, or *ri-no* / λίνον, linen, the cloth woven from flax fibres:

**KN Oa 745 [+]** 7374

(-/H4)

.1 a-ka-[ ]jo-jo, me-ṇo[  
.2 da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri[-to-jo ]po-ti-ni-ja ri \*166+WE 22[

On a tablet from Pylos the cloth \*146 is specified as *we-a<sub>2</sub>-no* [ *ri* ]-no *re-po-to*, that is, *φεανός λίνον λεπτόν*, *wehanos* ‘of fine linen’:

**PY Un 1322**

(Cii/Room 92 in the North East Building)

.0 ]GRA[ *qs*  
.1 ]ṇo[ ]o-no[ ] GRA 6 NI [*qs*  
.2 de-ku-tu-wo-ko [ ]o-no GRA 2 NI 2  
.3 i-te-we, o-ṇo [ ] GRA 12  
.4 we-a<sub>2</sub>-no[ ]-no, re-po-to \*146 GRA 5  
.5 we-[ ]no [ ]\*146 GRA 15  
.6 *vestigia*  
*infra mutila*

Thus it was assumed that when the scribes in these two cases wrote, that the cloth was of linen, then all *wehanos* (\*146 and \*166+WE) was of linen.

We believe in the opposite situation: that the scribes only noted what was really necessary to know, and that if the scribe noted material with which the cloth was made, then it is only because the material was not self-evident. The extra description, λίνον λεπτόν, indicates, in our opinion, that *wehanos* was not regularly of linen, neither regularly of fine quality. There is, thus, probably *wehanos* of wool and of linen, and the linen *wehanos* can be of ‘normal’ quality or of ‘fine’ quality.

Equally, when the cloth \*146 is described as *me-sa-to* ‘medium’,<sup>8</sup> then, in our opinion, it does not mean that all \*146 cloth was ‘medium’ *me-sa-to* either indicates ‘medium quality’ (*me-sa-to* cloth is opposed to *a-ro<sub>2</sub>-e* / *ariohes* ‘better’ cloth in the L(10) set and on X 728), or ‘medium sized’ (cloth can also be qualified as *me-ki-ta* / *megista* ‘largest’, see Xe 537 and L[6] 469). Thus it is plausible that \*146 was manufactured in several sizes and several qualities.

**KN Wm**

**1816**

(-)

.1 me-sa-to  
.2 \*146 [  
*inf. mut.*

7 J. CHADWICK, “Pylos Tablet Un 1322,” in *Mycenaean Studies. Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies held at Wingspread, 4-8 September 1961* (1964) 25: “Possibly [...] \*146 is normally of linen but is a woven (and possibly stitched) piece of linen of a particular shape, which would distinguish it from the raw material designated by SA.” J. MELENA, *Studies on some Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos dealing with Textiles* (Suppl. *Minos* 5, 1975) 62: “[T]he name *we-a<sub>2</sub>-no* indicates an indeterminate type of linen fabric capable of assuming the forms \*166 and \*146.” ROBKIN (*supra* n. 4) 213: “Both \*146 and \*166+WE are commodities made of linen.” SACCONI concludes that \*166+WE is made of linen cloth (*supra* n. 2) 204: “Tutti i dati contestuali a nostra disposizione sembrano dunque a convalida dell’ipotesi che gli ideogrammi \*165 e \*166 rappresentino un tipo particolare di tessuti, che la ligatura \*166+WE specifica essere un tessuto di lino.”

8 \*146 qualified as *me-sa-to* occurs on the Knossian Wm nodules (nodules without seal impression but with a hole for the string) Wm 1714 and 1816 (and perhaps also on Wm 1817; 5822; 5824; 5860; 8490).

Finally, on a tablet by scribe 103 the ideogram \*146 is preceded by the abbreviation *pe* and it is a common feature that scribe 103 wrote *pe* for *pe-ko-to* and used this term to describe woollen cloth:

**KN M(1) 1645** (103/-)  
 .1 ka-]ra-e-ri-jo-jo, me-no  
 .2 ]-wi-jo-do *pe* \*146 1  
 In the *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* month,  
 (the man?) ]*wi-jo-do*, 1 piece of ‘carded?’ *wehanos*.

This is again, to us, an indication of the possibility of woollen *wehanos*.

We do not know whether \*146 delivered by the Messenian villages as tax contribution was made of the most available and commonly used material, namely wool, or of linen, which was also a common type of cloth, especially in the Further Province.

It is probably not a coincidence that only some types of cloth occur in cult contexts and seem to play a specific role in the ceremonies: \*146, \*164, \*166+WE and TELA+TE are used for two purposes in the cult: for offerings and as remuneration for cult personnel.

*wehanos* \*146 and \*166+WE occur on lists of offerings. The cloth type \*166+WE is given to the *Potnia* of the *Labyrinth*,<sup>9</sup> with the mention of a month in the Mycenaean calendar (see tablet KN Oa 745 above). Perhaps there were specific offerings to bring according to which calendar month or festival was celebrated.

On a Pylian tablet, the cloth types \*146 and \*166 (and other commodities on Un 47) were sent from the palace store-rooms to a sanctuary outside the palace, at *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*:<sup>10</sup>

**PY Ua 1413** (Ci/SW area)<sup>11</sup>  
 .a \*146 7 \*166+WE 1 [  
 ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro, po-re-no-tu-ṭe[

The existence of a sanctuary at *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*<sup>12</sup> is based on transfers of perfumed oil from the palace to *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* (Fr 1220 and 1226). It is remarkable that cloth is sent to the sanctuary at *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*: did the sanctuary at *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* not produce cloth itself? This question should be asked, especially because we know that \*146 cloth was produced at *ro-u-so* and delivered to the Pylos palace as a tax contribution (Ma 365).<sup>13</sup>

It is impossible to say what exactly *po-re-no-tu-ṭe* [ means.<sup>14</sup> *po-re-no-* is most probably the same term as *po-re-na*, and Ventris and Chadwick<sup>15</sup> translated *po-re-na* as ‘victims’, but we believe more in Sacconi’s<sup>16</sup> interpretation as ‘sacerdoti e sacerdotesse’, that is, someone officiating in the cult. Massimo Perna suggests alternatively reading a title *po-re-no-tu-ṭe* [-ri / -re (dat. sg. from \*φορενο-θυ(σ)τήρ), ‘to the sacrificer’, this being a title of one of the *po-re-na*.

9 There is a ‘parallel’ offering of honey to the *Potnia of the Labyrinth*:

**KN Gg(1) 702** (103/G1)

.1 pa-si-te-o-i / me-ri \*209<sup>VAS</sup> 1  
 .2 da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo, / po-ti-ni-ja ‘me-ri’ \*209<sup>VAS</sup> 1

The same ‘parallel’ between offering of \*146 and of honey may exist for the god Poseidon / Enosidaon, see below.

10 R. PALMER, *Wine in the Mycenaean Palace Economy*, *Aegaeum* 10 (1994) 107.

11 Ua 1413 was actually found by a workman who was out hunting, according to T. PALAIMA, *The Scribes of Pylos* (1988) n. 187, who quotes Blegen.

12 The noun ἄργός, ‘the (*ro-u-so*) field’.

13 Another interpretation of *a-ko-ro* is suggested in V. ARAVANTINOS, L. GODART, A. SACCONI, “Sui nuovi Testi del palazzo di Cadmo a Tebe,” *RendLinc* s. 9, v. 6 (1995) 840-842.

14 See the most recent and comprehensive discussion in T. PALAIMA, “*po-re-na*: a Mycenaean Reflex in Homer? An IE figure in Mycenaean?,” *Minos* 31-32 (1996-1997) [1998] 303-312; T. PALAIMA, “Kn02 - Tn 316,” in *Florent Studia Mycenaea. Akten des 10. Internationalen mykenologischen Kolloquiums, Salzburg, 30. April-6. Mai 1995* (1999) 454-455. N. GUILLEUX, “Suffixal morphology: the case of *po-re-na* and *po-re-si*,” in *The 11<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies* (Austin, Texas, May 7-13, 2000) (forthcoming).

15 Docs<sup>2</sup> 285, 461.

16 A. SACCONI, “La tavoletta di Pilo Tn 316,” *Minos* 20-22 (1987) 553.

On another Pylian tablet (Un 443)<sup>17</sup> there is the term *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* and this may have something to do with cloth and cult. ζωστήρ is a belt or gird, and because wool is recorded after *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* it may be woollen belts for the *po-re-na*. It was also suggested that the term *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* indicates a festival where the ritual was to gird or perhaps to dress the *po-re-na* with cloth or wool.<sup>18</sup>

It is probably not a coincidence that among the many types of Mycenaean cloth, only some are found in the cult. The number of pieces of cloth for the offerings was probably not coincidental either: here we shall compare the offerings on one tablet (PY Un 853) to Poseidon and the offerings on another tablet (PY Un 6) to Poseidon and to the goddess *pe-re*.\*82.<sup>19</sup>

#### Poseidon (Un 853)

18 pieces of \*146

LANA 2 M 2 = c. 8 kilograms of wool

1 TELA+PA

#### Poseidon and *pe-re*.\*82 (Un 6)

37 pieces of \*146

LANA 5 = c. 15 kilograms of wool<sup>20</sup>

? pieces of \*166+WE

Killen<sup>21</sup> has shown that there may have been a relation of 1:2 between the textile offerings to Poseidon (Un 853<sup>22</sup>) and the same offerings to Poseidon and to the goddess *pe-re*.\*82 (PY Un 6). One tablet (Un 6) totals the offerings to Poseidon and *pe-re*.\*82, and on another tablet (Un 853) it is specified that the important person *e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* is responsible for half of the total offerings, that is, for the offerings to Poseidon (and not to *pe-re*.\*82). This hypothesis may find some confirmation on one of the new Theban tablets if the amount of wine which is qualified as *di-wi-ja-me-ro* is correctly interpreted as 'Diwija's share [of an offering]'.<sup>23</sup>

Although there are different types of cloth recorded for the Poseidon cult, the cloth type \*146 is mentioned first and is numerically much more important than the other types of cloth.

- 17 **PY Un 443** + Un 998 (*pars inferior sinistra*) (S6-H6)  
 .1 ku-pi-ri-jo, tu-ru-pte-ri-ja, o-no LANA 10 \*146 10  
 .2 po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja LANA 3  
 .3 ]d̥o-ke, ka-pa-ti-ja, HORD 2 te-ri-ja GRA 1 LANA 5  
*reliqua pars sine regulis*
- 18 See most recently PALAIMA (*supra* n. 14) 306-307: "LANA [on Un 443] is recorded after *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*, and wool is a material suitable for the range of standard interpretations of the term *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* as relating ultimately to the activity of binding or girdling or wrapping."
- 19 L. PALMER suggested reading *pe-re*.\*82 as the Dove Goddess Πέλεια (*The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* [1963] 20) and this hypothesis seems to find some confirmation in the new Thebes tablets where probably a sanctuary for *pe-re*.\*82 is called *pe-re-wi-jo*. The syllable \*82 may thus be transcribed -*wja*, according to ARAVANTINOS, GODART, SACCONI (*supra* n. 13) 838. Against this, see J. MELENA, "On the Structure of the Mycenaean Linear B Syllabary. I. The Untransliterated Syllabograms," in *The 11<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies* (Austin, Texas, May 7-13, 2000) (forthcoming).
- 20 See also the interesting observation concerning Un 443 by PALAIMA (*supra* n. 14) 306-307: "[T]he LANA entries [on Un 443] in line .2 and the second entry in line .3 are similar in quantity to those on Un 6,6 and Un 853,3 (LANA 3 and LANA 5 versus LANA 5 and LANA 2 M 2 respectively)."
- 21 J. KILLEN, "New Readings and Interpretations in the Pylos Tablets," in *Florent Studia Mycenaea. Akten des 10. Internationale Mykenologisches Kolloquium, Salzburg, 30. Apr.-6. Mai 1995* (1999) 351: "[T]he amount of each commodity that is listed on Un 853 appears to have been half of the amount listed on Un 6."
- 22 It has been suggested that the heading ]-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-u-na be read as the accusative form of an alternate spelling of the important person *e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo*. Docs<sup>2</sup> 542; M. LINDGREN, *The People of Pylos II* (1973) 154. See discussion in P. CARLIER, *La Royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre* (1984) n. 307 and KILLEN (*supra* n. 21) 350-352.
- 23 **TH 119**  
 .1 \*63-te-ra-de, di-wi-ja-me-ro, qe-te-jo,  
 .2 VIN 2 V 5  
 Al santuario di \*63-te-ra, è da pagare la parte che spetta alla Diwija: 2 unità V 5 di vino  
 Translation by ARAVANTINOS, GODART, SACCONI (*supra* n. 13) 843: "La parola *di-wi-ja-me-ro* è chiaramente composta da *di-wi-ja* e *me-ro*. *di-wi-ja* è un nome di divinità ben noto nei testi in lineare B [...] Si tratta del teonimo femminile \*Διῳία [...] La parola *me-ro* invece è un hapax e corrisponde chiaramente al greco Μέρος che significa "la parte," "la porzione." *di-wi-ja-me-ro* è quindi da tradurre "la parte della *di-wi-ja*."



Duhoux<sup>24</sup> suggested associating \*146 with male deities. It is true that this cloth type is given to Poseidon<sup>25</sup> and to Enosidaon,<sup>26</sup> probably another name for Poseidon.

**KN M 719**

(140/G1)

- .1 a-mi-ni-so ke-re-na, re-ne, [  
 .2 e-ne-si-da-o-ne, su-ja-to, \*146 1[

.2 \*146 1 over [[ ]] (, perhaps [[ME+RI]] followed by VAS

But as demonstrated above, the goddess *pe-re*\*82 receives the cloth types \*146 and \*166 together with Poseidon at Pylos (Un 6). At Knossos ]*po-ti-ni-ja*[ occurs on a tablet which probably records receivers of cloth \*146.

**KN M 729**

(-/G3)

- .1 ]ma-wo, \*146 1 [  
 .2 ]po-ti-ni-ja[  
     .1 Trace before ]*ma-wo*, possibly a divider.  
     Perhaps 1 [ after *po-ti-ni-ja*; further traces at end.

And on a Pylian tablet there is a disbursement of about ten litres of oil (ἄλοιφή) to the *u-po-jo Potnia*, perhaps the ‘the Mistress of spinning’ ὕφοιο πότνια, with the specification *we-a<sub>2</sub>-no-i a-ro-pa*, ‘for (the pieces of) *wehanos* cloth, as ointment’.

**PY Fr 1225**

(S1217-Cii/room 23)

- .1 e-ra<sub>3</sub>-wo, u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja  
 .2 we-a<sub>2</sub>-no-i, a-ro-pa OLE+A S 1

Thus, *wehanos* was given to both male and female divinities and no distinction in the offerings of textiles existed between male and female gods.

As demonstrated above, the *Potnia of the Labyrinth* receives cloth (KN Oa 745) and honey (KN Gg[1] 702). The same pattern appears for *Enosidaon*, who receives cloth (KN M 719) and probably also honey (KN Gg[3] 717).<sup>27</sup>

The second purpose for the cloth in the cult was the distribution, probably as remuneration, to dependent personnel. A priestess, *i-je-re-ja*, and another high official in the cult, the key-bearer *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* / κλαφιφορος also receive another type of cloth: The Pylian tablet Un 6 records *wehanos* as offerings to Poseidon and *pe-re*\*82, but the verso of the tablet suggests that another type of cloth named *te-pa* / TELA+TE was meant for the cult personnel:

**PY Un 6 verso**

- v. *prior pars sine regulis*  
 v.1 ]i-je-re-ja TELA+TE[  
 v.2 ka-]ra-wi-po-ro TELA+TE[  
 r v. *reliqua pars sine regulis*

the priestess(es), ? pieces of *te-pa* cloth,  
 the key-bearer(s), ? pieces of *te-pa* cloth.

24 DUHOUX (*supra* n. 1) 122.

25 PY Un 6; 853.

26 *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* is in the dative form \*Ενοσιδαῶναι.

27 The find-spot (G1), the scribe (140), and the erased mention of honey (ME+RI) and a recipient (VAS) make it likely to associate M 719 with the Gg(3) set (also by scribe 140 and from G1).

**KN Gg(3) 717**

(140/G1)

- .1 ], me-na, pa-si-te-o [-i  
 .2 ?e-ne-]si-da-o-ne, ME+RI [

Two other tablets, Gg(3) 705 and 5185, may also record honey offerings to *po-se-da-]o-ne* or to *e-ne-si-da-]o-ne*. Note that Gg(3) 705 refers to Amnisos, just like M 719 does.

The verso testifies that cloth *TELA+TE* is given to (or delivered by) persons with religious titles. The person with the title *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* / κλαφιφορος is a well-known Pylian woman called Karpathia (Ep 388). This is the only tablet recording *TELA+TE* in a religious context, \*146 and \*166 being the two types of cloth most frequently mentioned on tablets concerning religion. Some of the Knossian M tablets can be associated with the religious sphere (M 719; 724; 729; 1645; 7394?).<sup>28</sup> In this religious context very few pieces of \*146 are recorded against terms from the religious vocabulary. It is tempting to interpret these tablets as attributions of \*146 to persons in the cult or to divinities. An example:

**KN M 7394 + 8684 + frr.(3)** ( -/- )  
 .1 ]ja *TELA*<sup>2</sup> 1 [  
 .2 ]re-ja-i \*146 3[

]re-ja-i is<sup>29</sup> probably in the dative form, and if this is really a feminine designation in the dative plural form, then three pieces of \*146 are issued to this group of women. A feminine occupational group in the textile industry (*ko-u-]re-ja-i*, *e-ne-]re-ja-i*) or in the cult (*i-je-]re-ja-i*) is quite possible.<sup>30</sup> If this tablet records textile workers (*ko-u-]re-ja-i*, *e-ne-]re-ja-i*), the cloth may be recorded because the women workers were supposed to decorate the cloth \*146. (On a Theban tablet,<sup>31</sup> female finishers are given wool, probably for textile work in *Potnia*'s sanctuary. And because the amounts of wool are small and because the wool is qualified *ku*, it is attractive to think that this tablet did not record textile production but textile decoration). But the cloth on KN M 7394 may alternatively be a kind of remuneration of the women. We know from other tablets (Un 219; Fn 187) that women textile workers received remuneration and were recorded together with gods and sanctuary personnel. Given the few pieces of cloth on M 7394, and given that some M tablets record divinities, it is very tempting to suggest reading *i-je-]re-ja-i* 'to the priestesses'.

It is obviously tempting to compare the ideograms \*146 and \*166 with the iconographical evidence. Duhoux suggested identifying \*166 with a kilt.<sup>32</sup> Rehak has studied the Aegean kilts and concludes that they are worn on Crete over a wide chronological span (MM II to LM IIIA). It is also worn on Pylos frescoes from LH IIIB. But there is "no evidence from the mainland, however, to suggest that the kilt is ever a standard Mycenaean costume". The ideogram \*146 with its upper triangle reminds mostly of the Mycenaean tunic with a hole cut out for the head. \*146 seems to be a very common type of cloth, delivered from the villages in hundreds. This may correspond to Rehak's description based on the iconographical data: "Tunics – short or long – may be appropriate for a wide variety of activities, and could conceivably represent ordinary 'everyday wear'."<sup>33</sup>

28 M(1) 1645 records a piece of \*146 with the adjunct *pe*. On M 719,1 it is possible that *pe* again precedes \*146 (see the editors' comments in KT5). Both tablets concerne cult. If *pe* designates a special kind of \*146 with special affinities with the cult, then M 7373 should also be associated with the groups of cult texts, because it records \*146+*PE*.

29 This reading is proposed in L. GODART, J. KILLEN, C. KOPAKA, J. MELENA, J.-P. OLIVIER, "501 raccords et quasi-raccords de fragments dans les tablettes de Cnossos post-KTV," *Minos* 25-26 (1990-91) 373-412.

30 No known ethnic designation or place name can be restored.

31 **TH Of 36** (303/Epam str.)

.1 no-ri-wo-ki-de *ku* LANA 1 a-ke-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>, wa-na-ka[

.2 po-ti-ni-ja, wo-ko-de, a-ke-ti-ra<sub>2</sub> *ku* LANA 1

To the *no-ri-wo-ki-de*, 3 kilograms of *ku* wool; To the royal female finishers[

To *Potnia*'s *woikos*, the female finishers, 3 kilograms of *ku* wool.

32 DUHOUX (*supra* n. 1) 131-132.

33 P. REHAK, "Aegean Breechcloths, Kilts and the Keftiu Paintings," *AJA* 100 (1996) 50.

## Conclusions

Many parts of the textile economy are associated with cult: women (TH Of 36; 28?; KN G 820; Ak[3] 830??); wool (TH Of 31; 28?); sheep (KN DI[1] series; PY Cc 665). The general impression is, that the cult sector, especially the *Potnia* sector of the economy, forms a well defined economical system within the Mycenaean palace economy. In this it reminds of the royal sector of the economy. The scribe is always aware of the specificity of each sector and they are normally recorded on separate tablets. When the royal sector and the cult sector of the economy are recorded together, the scribe first records the royal matters and subsequently the cult matters.<sup>34</sup>

We can only speculate about what happened during a Mycenaean religious ceremony. It is not difficult to imagine what was done with the sheep, cows, grain and wine. The Mycenaean most probably enjoyed banquets in honour of the gods. But what was done with the cloth? As we have seen, oil was given to the *u-po-jo Potnia*, with the specification *we-a<sub>2</sub>-no-i a-ro-pa*, 'for (the pieces of) *wehanos* cloth, as ointment' (see PY Fr 1225 above). The unctuous preparation of *Potnia*'s cloth and the treatment with scented oils was thus perhaps a part of the cult ceremony. The term *po-re-no-zo-ti-ri-ja* may indicate that an activity in the cult was to gird or, perhaps, to dress someone with cloth or wool. Cult statues were perhaps dressed,<sup>35</sup> and carpets could cover the floor.

There are various types of cloth recorded on Linear B tablets concerning cult, but the cloth type \*146 definitely plays a specific role in the cult. There is a strong connection between *wehanos* \*146 and *wehanos* \*166, both at Pylos and at Knossos, and they are mainly associated in cult contexts. On the offering tablets there seems to be a parallel at Knossos between offerings of \*146 (series M and Oa), and of honey (series Gg). They are both standard commodities sent from the palace to the sanctuaries. At Pylos perhaps the offerings of textiles were associated with offerings of scented oil (Un 6, Un 853; Fr 1225).

We have demonstrated that there may have existed several kinds of *wehanos* \*146: woollen or linen *wehanos*; fine or ordinary *wehanos*; small, medium or large sized *wehanos*; and finally, since \*166 and \*146 both contain the ligature *WE*, interpreted as the abbreviation for the generic name *wehanos*, then the two ideograms must have indicated two types of *wehanos*.

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34 This sequence is evidenced and discussed in J. KILLEN, "Bronzeworking at Knossos and Pylos," *Hermathena* 143 (1987) 61-72. Killen used the examples of KN K(1) 875; PY Jn 310; 431 where royal or secular matters are recorded before the *Potnia* matters. This distinction may also be present on PY Un 1426 [+] 1428 where the *wanax* is recorded in the dative form in the upper part of the tablet, while the *ki-ri-ta-wi-ja* women, of whom we know that they were doing something in the cult and hold land at Pakijane, are recorded in the lower part of the tablet. A similar sequence is recorded on KN F(1) 51: first barley for the king, then for the official *po-ro-de-qo-no* and finally for the divinities *di-we* and *ma-ka*. See discussion in ARAVANTINOS, GODART, SACCONI (*supra* n. 13) 834.

35 See HILLER (*supra* n. 3)